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example, I found that the Petats people were familiar with all the small islands along the reef, and with the villages on the west coast of Buka, from Lontis in the north to Novar on the south, with all of which their genealogies showed that they had intermarried. They also associated with certain, but not all, of the villages of Central Buka, such as Sapani and Kohiso, and with Malasang on the east coast, whither they went to trade for pots. They were much less at home with the people of the north and east, whose affinities are mostly with the Bougainville coast. The difference came out in the demeanour of my companions on a tramp round the island during which we stayed at most of the principal villages.

The people of Kurtatchi have friendly contact with all the villages along the north coast of Bougainville, those of Tabut, Timputs, and Baniu, which speak the same dialect, being their closest affiliations. They are distrustful of the Hahon people living in the villages of the foot-hills behind the coast-line, though they do, on occasion, trade with them and attend their ceremonies. Several of the people of Kurtatchi originally belonged to Hanahan, on the east coast of Buka, and there are also kinship affiliations with Malasang. Little contact takes place between Kurtatchi and the villages on the west side of Buka, not only because of the difference of dialect, but also because the sea journey involved, by Buka Passage and up the coast, is much longer and apt to be difficult.

THE VILLAGE

Though very far from being a closed society, as will be evident from the preceding paragraph, the village yet forms a definite local group, possessing a certain amount of conscious unity. Where an American Indian will give you the name of his tribe, a Buka or Bougainville native tells you the name of his village. The inhabitants of, say, Baniu or Timputs will be spoken of by the people of Kurtatchi as 'the Baniu' or 'the Timputs'—I have often been told that 'the Baniu' would attend a certain ceremony, or 'the Timputs' would do this or that. In introducing to me a stranger who happened to be visiting Kurtatchi, the name of his village would always be mentioned before anything else, that being clearly considered the important thing in the matter of his identification.

Sites of villages. There is a succession of villages all round the coast of Buka, at intervals varying from a few hundred yards to

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343 keeping plank canoes (*mon*). Dug-outs are usually left on the
501 beach, care being taken to draw them up above high-water mark.

514 No special areas are set apart for latrines. People go into the bush, as a rule not very far away, the women keeping to the area behind their own quarters at the back of the line of huts. In the case of a shore village, the men and boys wander along the beach.

364 Some attempt is made—rather spasmodically—to keep the village
412 clean, each woman sweeping the area round her own hut, with a broom made of bundles of the midribs of coco-nut palm leaves, tied at one end, without a handle. One man at Kurtatchi, more inventive than the others, made a rough wooden shovel, with handle all in one piece, with which to remove pigs' dung. Different villages vary very greatly in the extent to which they are swept and cared for, and as dogs and pigs wander round freely, while everybody constantly flings down areca-nut husks, bits of coco-nut, and miscellaneous oddments, even a short period of neglect suffices to give the village a very unkempt appearance.

342 *Huts*. At Petats, and a few other villages, under the tuition of
[177] the Missions, the natives now build themselves houses raised on piles, with plank walls and high-pitched roofs (see Pl. 3 *b*). But in most places, especially in Bougainville, the native type of hut still predominates, built on the bare earth, thatched with sago-palm leaves in the shape of a broad gothic arch, with the roof almost touching the ground on both sides. They are all exactly alike; their appearance can be seen from the photographs. There are no windows. At each end is a very small opening (a typical one measured 21×16 in.), serving as entrance and exit, closed by having planks set across it at night or when the hut is left empty.

● [439] At the present time a few natives have plank doors swung on hinges and perhaps fastened with a bolt bought at the Chinese stores. The doors are raised about 3 ft. from the ground-level, and in front of each is a sort of shelf of split areca-palm trunks, 2 or 3 ft. in width, which serves as a sitting platform or verandah, as well as

342 an aid to scrambling in and out. The end of the hut, facing the
562 dancing space, with its entrance and verandah, is called *tagoom*,
784 and is reserved for the men, women being allowed to use it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's place is at the back, called *babots*, including not only the back 'verandah' but all that portion of ground which adjoins the back of the huts, irregular in its outline because the larger huts project into it farther than the

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places, carrying spears, bows and arrows, knives, and trade axes, which they call tomahawks. Those who were not fortunate enough to possess these treasures carried sticks cut from the bush, with leaves still attached to them. Their faces were painted in various patterns, a striking effect being obtained by a bright red (carmine) obtained from the Chinese stores, covering both ears. Nearly every one had a spot of red (*oin*) on both temples; this is a protection against the dangers of the road.

We went on till we came to a village called Kinopawpaw. On its outskirts we found a platform made of boughs, on which were placed a large number of coco-nut-leaf baskets. These were full of roast pig, cooked taro, and ceremonial pudding. Others contained the eggs of the bush fowl (megapode), done up in leaves. Huge bunches of areca-nut, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper leaves. All along the edge of the platform there were coco-nuts. The whole effect was one of lavish abundance, as was intended. This food was provided by the group holding the ceremony, for the benefit of those who came from long distances to attend it.

Our crowd approached the platform with much shouting and brandishing of weapons. They were met by a band who had arrived before us, and a sham fight took place. Then we all sat down and food was distributed. Presently a fresh crowd arrived, every one jumped up and rushed out to meet them, and another sham fight took place. This happened whenever a new contingent came up.

We remained there till darkness had fallen; fresh contingents arrived at frequent intervals, each necessitating the staging of another fight. Finally we started off down a narrow track, in single file, our way lighted by torches made of the dried leaves of the coco-nut palm, and the hurricane lanterns carried by our own party, a less picturesque but more dependable form of illumination. The track was level for a while, then it began to go up and down, with creeks in the valleys, some bridged by logs, some to be forded. Progress was at the rate of about two miles an hour, or less, with frequent halts. Presently we came to an avenue of areca-nut palms. These trees the men in the forefront of the procession proceeded to cut down and strew over the road, though some of them were bearing. It seemed a piece of wanton destruction, but as the owners of the trees were among the destroyers, it was clearly part of the business. They did not gather the areca-nuts from the

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of the bush, bread-fruits were to be seen lying about on the ground in large quantities in various stages of rottenness, where no one had chanced to pass that way to pick them up.

The bread-fruits are obtained by climbing the tree and knocking them down; those above hand reach are hooked off by jerking them from their stalks with a stick lashed, pointing backwards, on to the end of a long pole.

Bread-fruit is cooked by being laid on the top of a fire of sticks, directly exposed to the flames (Pl. 34). When the outer skin is completely charred, the inside is done to their liking. The blackened skin is scraped off with a black-lip oyster-shell knife, and the soft inside pulled to pieces with the fingers and eaten in great hunks. The large seeds it contains are very much relished. They may be eaten as they are, or cooked again by being laid in the embers, just as we roast chestnuts, which they strongly resemble both in look and flavour. Bread-fruit is never pounded or made into pudding.

Leaves eaten as vegetables. Although the taro plant is cultivated principally for the sake of the tubers, its leaves are also used as food. Other kinds of leaves, grown in the taro garden or wild in the bush, are likewise eaten, also the tender tips of some species of bracken (*Pteris*). They are prepared by being boiled in pots with water, generally sea-water, or with the addition of some sea-water, for the sake of the salt. When done, they look and taste not unlike spinach. In the mountains, where there is no pottery, they are cooked by being thrust into a length of bamboo, without water, the bamboo being then laid on the fire. As I know from experience, the resulting dish is both succulent and tasty. (I was told that pig, cut into small pieces, is also cooked in this way, but I did not see it done.) I have never seen this method of cooking in bamboo without water in use among the coast natives, where it is not necessary since they can obtain, from the women of Malasang, pots in which to boil their food.

Nobody would deliberately cut down a coco-nut palm in order to eat its heart, but if one is blown down, or has to be removed for any reason, the heart is hacked out and eaten with great enjoyment, either raw, or, more frequently, boiled like taro, in a pot lined with leaves.

There is a species of seaweed which can be obtained from the reef at low tide, which is eagerly sought for and eaten just as it comes from the reef, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its saltness.

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Mangoes grow in the bush, but do not, so far as I know, receive any attention, though the locality of each tree is known. When passing anywhere near one, most people will turn aside to gather the fruit. They like to dip it into their lime-pot before taking a bite; this is said to add to the flavour.

Pumpkins and some forms of marrow grow in the taro garden, and in some places are found wild in the bush; possibly these are escapes. They were sometimes offered to me, but are not much used or liked.

Sugar-cane is available. Bits of it are sucked with great relish. It is tough and stringy and not very sweet; probably it suffers from lack of attention. No use is made of it except to suck sections of the cane as we eat sweets.

The long narrow fruit of the small-leaved mangrove (*parū*), which goes red when it is ripe, is collected, skinned, and put into a basket, then it is left in the sea overnight; next morning it is washed in fresh water, boiled, and eaten as a relish, with coco-nut meat.

A small Chili pepper (*nubo*) is used to flavour the water in which other food has been boiled, this liquid is then partaken of at the meal.

2. *Flesh food*

Unless some one chances to kill a wild pig in casual hunting, pig-meat is a luxury reserved for special occasions. Domestic pigs are never killed except for a feast of considerable importance. The prestige of an important feast depends upon the number of pigs that have been killed for it. If enough cannot be procured from the village supply, or caught by the hunters, the natives will, at the present time, pay as much as £10 or £12 of our money—earned as wages in serving as indentured labourers—to a trader or planter who will sell them one.

Unless they have been wounded, wild pigs caught in the bush are generally brought into the village alive. The method of carrying them is to tie the forelegs together, and the hind legs together, and swing the animal on a pole put between the legs. A pig will perhaps be brought in thus in the morning, thrown down on the ground near a hut, and left there for hours until the men are ready to kill it. Killing is usually done by plunging a spear into the animal's body just behind the uppermost foreleg, as it lies on its

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individual needs, half a coco-nut shell makes an excellent cup or bowl, leaves may be used as plates, and a shell (usually a species of cyrena, Pl. 38, no. 6) serves many of the purposes for which we use a spoon. These, with the women's knife made of black-lip oyster-shell and the large trade knives which are now universal, constitute the chief utensils employed in preparing and eating meals. Fingers and teeth are the aids to feeding most in evidence.

When ready to serve, the pot with its contents is placed on the verandah, or on the ground, where every one can reach to put his hand in and pick out a chunk of taro or a handful of tiny shell-fish. These people will put their hands into water that is only just off the boil, and take out a taro so hot that when they passed me my share I invariably dropped it, till I learned to wrap a leaf round my hand before accepting it. Similarly they will plunge a hand into a potful of shell-fish immediately it has been taken off the fire. Fish that has been cooked in leaves will be laid out on the verandah, still resting on its leaf-covering; if the fish are small each person will take one or more, according to the quantity available, if large, pieces will be torn off with the fingers. Sometimes a number of cooked taro or the portions of a disjointed opossum will be passed round in a coco-nut-leaf basket. If you have taken more than you want you pass the remainder of the taro or the half-picked bone to some one else, probably one of the children, with the remark '*Komanĕ a libul*', 'My belly is full'. I never saw any one put partly eaten food back into the pot. There are always plenty of dogs and pigs in attendance, who see to it that no fragments are left on the ground when the meal is over. The pigs are specially fed with the taro peelings and any other bits accruing from the preparation of the meal, being called up by name by the housewife for this purpose. The dogs fare more meagrely, being purposely kept on short rations in order that they may be fierce in hunting.

SMOKING

Smoking is universally indulged in, even by quite small children. Apart from the merest babies I do not remember meeting any one who did not smoke. It is a common sight to see a little girl of perhaps five or six strutting about with a pipe in her mouth, which may or may not be alight (Pl. 37*b*).

Tobacco is grown in small quantities and cured by being hung in bundles in the sun, but everybody much prefers the variety to

be obtained from white men, which is a kind of plug twist, mixed with molasses, and made up into sticks about 6 inches long. The same word (*wuruts*) is used for both native and trade tobacco. Portions of stick-tobacco are twisted off and crumbled, and are smoked either in pipes or in the form of cigarettes, made of any kind of paper that happens to be available. The newspapers sent to me from home were in great demand for this purpose. I once gave a man a half-sheet of the *Observer*, and was amused to see him roll it obliquely into a cigarette of enormous length, which he smoked with great satisfaction, to the envy of the onlookers, and somehow succeeded in keeping alight. The height of smoking luxury, however, consists in a tin of Capstan and a packet of cigarette papers. When they have no tobacco they will pick up a piece of smouldering wood from a fire, crush it into their pipes, and smoke it with apparent content. They like to mix with their tobacco a resinous gum (*tagon*) collected from the trunk of the canarium almond.

Pipes are made in certain villages where a suitable supply of clay can be obtained. One man on Petats was considered especially skilful. He got his clay from the neighbourhood of a river on the island of Buka. It appears to be similar to that used for pottery-making on the opposite side of the island. The work is usually done inside the hut, so that the clay will not dry too quickly. The bowl is shaped in the finger, and the stems are moulded round a thin cane which is then pulled out. The pipes are baked by being laid in the embers of an ordinary house fire. They are also made in some of the villages on Bougainville, especially in the Kunua district, but not in any of those on the north coast, the people of which obtain them by barter. In the Kunua villages I saw some with patterns incised on the bowls, but as a rule those in common use have plain bowls, with slight differences of shape in the projecting piece at the bottom. The length of the stems varies a little, but is generally not more than 3 or 4 inches.

CHEWING THE BETEL-MIXTURE

Just as universal as the habit of smoking is that of areca-nut chewing (*gas*), which begins perhaps even earlier, since babies a few months old are given the husks of the areca-nut to suck. I have seen a man spit his mouthful into the hand of a child aged perhaps six, who chewed it for a while and then transferred it to

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a still younger child who also chewed it. The practice is usually referred to as 'betel-nut chewing', but, as has been pointed out by Ivens (1927, p. 285), this is actually a transference of the name of the condiment chewed with the nut to the nut itself, which is the seed of the areca-palm (*Areca catechu* and allied species). As usual throughout the Melanesian area, the areca-nut (*bok*) is always used in conjunction with betel-pepper (*ta-nek*) and lime (*iav*), a combination referred to by Rivers in *Melanesian Society* as 'the betel-mixture', a practice which I have followed in this book. The procedure is somewhat different from that described by Ivens for the SE. Solomons. It is frequently eaten after a meal, but also at any and every opportunity as desired, much as we smoke cigarettes. The catkin-like fruit, described by Guppy (p. 95) as 'the female spike', of the betel-pepper (*ta-sian*) is much more highly relished than the leaf, which is eaten only when the fruit is scarce, or by those to whom the fruit is taboo, as in the case of a mother with a suckling child. The lime is carried in a specially cleaned-out shell of a young coco-nut (also called *iav*), which is often ornamented with an elaborate incised pattern (*iav a gōm*) emphasized by having lime rubbed over the lines (Pl. 72). The north coast people do not now make these carved specimens, but obtain them by barter from the mountain people. Often, however, they are 'too lazy' to make even a plain one by cleaning a coco-nut, and are content to keep their lime in empty cigarette tins or tobacco tins. No spatula is used, the nut being dipped straight into the lime-pot. I saw no mortars for use by old people, who, if they cannot open the nuts with their hardened gums, will get one of the youngsters to do it for them.

Areca-palms (*boi*) are cultivated, and are regarded as valuable property. There is also a kind of wild palm producing small nuts, which are also eaten, but only if the others are not available.

The betel-pepper (*Piper betel*) is cultivated. There are also wild varieties, of which I know three kinds; they have much smaller leaves and are less in favour. One, called *tʃutʃun*, is chewed especially by old women. All these varieties are parasitic on large trees. If a large quantity is required the stem will be severed near the ground and the whole plant pulled off the tree, but as a rule the fruit and leaves are carefully picked one by one so as not to injure the growing plant.

Lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred. Its

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244 To prevent pigs from spoiling taro:

789 *Karamuts* (plant unidentified).

Break some pieces of stick from this shrub into lengths of about two inches. Chew its root with the betel-mixture and spit on these bits of stick. Bury the sticks on the road to the taro garden. The pigs will not go into that garden. (Note that this prescription is not regarded as an alternative to good fencing!)

There are also special stones which may be planted in the garden to make the taro grow strong. They are smeared with *oin* and planted without further ceremonial. Those that I have seen are pebbles of volcanic origin, found, so their owners told me, in the beds of rivers that run to the coast from the interior. There are [439] no rivers near Kurtatchi; the stones are obtained by barter from the mountain people and are greatly valued.

244 When a large new taro garden is being made for some special 796 purpose, a ceremony is held. I saw this done on two occasions, once at a taro garden belonging to Kurtatchi, the second time at one belonging to the neighbouring village of Tabut. Both these gardens were being prepared for use at the big feast accompanying the watawutch ceremony. Since the methods of preparation and planting are generally applicable, and the ritual typical, I give an account of the procedure at the Kurtatchi garden in some detail.

Ceremony for Planting New Taro Garden

(*June 9 and 10, 1930*)

The ground had been cleared of everything except the orderly piles of rubbish, the trunks of the larger trees, and the roots of the bush bananas, with their stems standing a foot or so from the ground. On the day before the ceremony the whole cleared space [423] was laid out in plots, roughly square, marked off by long thin logs, each plot being the personal property of one individual. A passage-way about 6 feet wide ran down the middle of the whole ground, the shape of which was roughly rectangular. Part of two men's plots had not yet been cleared, but was still covered with leaves and brush-wood. The men responsible were held up to ridicule as lazy, but the censure was neither meant nor taken very seriously.

All the small bits of stick, leaves, &c., which remained on the plots having been carefully removed, little fires were lighted on each plot, burning dry coco-nut shells. The leaves of a plant (*nets*)

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been a very large and important taro garden he would have done so. The people of Tabut do not keep to the old customs as strictly as the Kurtatchi people; they have been for a longer time subject to the ministrations of a native mission teacher who is trying to make them stop all the ceremonies connected with the *urar*. It may be that this was a contributory factor. The customary rules were also relaxed so far as to permit the boys wearing the *upi* to assist at the preparations, and the women wore their hoods, neither of which was allowed at the Kurtatchi ceremony.

Coco-nuts

Coco-nuts are cultivated by all the coast natives. They do not flourish in the mountain districts.

The following are the terms applied to the coco-nut at various stages in its development:

Stage of growth.	*Kurtatchi dialect.*	*Petats dialect.*
Generic term used for the nut at all stages, and for the coco-nut palm	*ūir*	*ūel*
Very young nut	*kukūts*	*teō*
Young nut before it contains liquid		*pēsis* or *pēli*
Nut containing liquid before 'meat' appears	*konpēn*	*kakarut*
Nut with thin layer of meat at the creamy stage ('drinking coco-nut')	*mapur*	*irabil*
Nut with meat a little firmer (also used for drinking)	*wisi*	*kuvo*
Nut containing a little liquid and thick meat (the liquid at this stage is bitter and is not considered palatable)	*wakamitskoma*	*rut*
Nut the meat of which has hardened ('dry' coco-nut)	*muhas* or *mahas*	*lap*
Mature nut the outer skin of which is not yet dry	*arop*	*pitor*
Nut the kernel of which has become spongy	*awan*	*tumun*
Nut which has become dry and has fallen to the ground		*tus* or *alaun*
Nut which has sprouted		*hala*

The Government encourages the natives to plant coco-nut palms, requiring trees to be started for every child born. Apart from the use of the nut as food and drink, the meat is dried in the sun or on platforms over a fire, to make copra, which is taken by the planters in exchange for trade goods, such as loin-cloths, knives, &c., or for shillings, with which the head-tax of 10*s*. per year on every adult male must be paid. But now that the copra market has fallen upon evil days, it is becoming increasingly difficult for

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the natives to get a price for it in any way commensurate with the labour involved, and there seems but little future for the industry, as far as they are concerned. The attention given to the native coco-nut groves is chiefly confined to clearing up a little now and then, young palms being allowed to come up where the nuts happen to fall. They are a characteristic feature of most beach scenes, overhanging the shore in picturesque confusion, pleasanter to look at, and easier to climb, but less productive than those which stand in orderly ranks of straight trunks on a white man's plantation. Once in a while, especially after a reprimand from the District Officer, there is a sudden burst of activity, in which everybody sets to work clearing away the undergrowth which covers the roots, and tearing down the parasitic and other creepers which festoon the branches. The casual way in which the native treats his coco-nut palms is all the more noticeable in contrast to the meticulous care which is lavished on the taro garden, where, of course, neglect would result in the complete absence of a crop. Similarly, in contrast to the many 'prescriptions' connected with the cultivation of taro, I know of only one directed towards the improvement of the coco-nut palm. A possible reason for this may lie in the fact that while the taro crop is precarious, depending largely on weather conditions, the coco-nut palm may be relied upon to produce a crop without much danger of its failing. The single 'prescription' known to me runs as follows:

Bariur (*Crinum asiaticum*).

Pound the roots of this plant and mix them with *oin*. Rub this mixture on the trunks of the coco-nut palms. This will ensure that they will bear well.

Bananas

A great many varieties of edible banana are known and distinguished by name; the appearance and taste of each is familiar to most natives. A group consisting of two men and two women once gave me a list of thirty-seven varieties at a sitting, with comments on them.

A certain amount of trouble is taken to cultivate many of these varieties. They are sometimes planted in clearings, made for the purpose, and sometimes amongst the taro or in a portion of the taro-garden reserved for them. When the young fruit has formed, the whole bunch is tied up in a bag made of coco-nut fibre.

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226 be done just before setting out, fish will come to your canoe. If another canoe comes up to fish near you, it should be rubbed off, then the intruder will not be able to catch any fish. It is used especially in fishing for deep-sea fish, called *payur*, *malaisa*, *tayini*.

226 *Gotain* (a small tree).

824 Rub the canoe with the leaves of this tree, and then a lot of fish will come to your nets.

Pako (a creeper).

Rub its leaves between your hands. Chew its root with betel-mixture. Rub both on the net. This is especially good for catching the large fish called *makō*.

Wadodowo (a large tree, which bears berries much liked by birds).

Chew a piece of a large root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on net, then fix a piece of the root on to the net.

226 2. *Troll line.*

A heavy line (*palayon*) is trolled, without a rod, behind a canoe, for catching large deep-sea fish, of several varieties.

226 *'Medicine' for catching fish with* palayon.

824 *Katʃian* (tree resembling an areca-palm).

Take the root and some leaves, rub them together in your hands with lime, and rub on to the line. Chew root with betel-mixture, spit on your hands and rub over line. No use for bonito.

3. *Rod and line.*

226 Deep-sea fish are also caught from outrigger canoes by means
227 of a rod (*ara*) of bamboo often in two or more sections lashed
[283] together, tapering towards the distal end. A strong line is made by plaiting together four strands of rolled string. Hooks of thorn
[117] used to be attached to the line, but trade hooks (*unau*) are generally
439] substituted nowadays, when they can be obtained from planters' stores. Small fish, or bits of octopus or trepang, are used as bait. The rod and line is also used by men casting from the edge of the
[286] reef at low tide. (See Fig. 14.) A landing net (*totol*) is sometimes used with it, consisting of a net of heavy string almost circular in shape, supported on a frame of wood in one piece, a branch with
[415 a suitable fork being chosen. With this there goes a cleaned-out
824] coco-nut shell to hold the bait. (Pl. 43.)

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like this, then you cut the inside, then you get another stone and work it inside so that it is smooth.'

Then he went back to his home and fetched a spear and a bow and arrows. Then he went alone to the bush. He was sorry about his trees. He said: 'Oh, why should they all know about my trees?' He took an arrow and shot it into the tree; that is why the *tʃiniv* tree has many holes in it, so that people have to stop them with putty nut. The man wanted them all to have hard work to stop them with putty. The arrow stuck in the tree, presently it fell down; since then all the *tʃiniv* trees have holes in them, and now the people have to put putty into them.

Materials. Several different varieties of tree may be used. The one universally preferred, on account of the straightness and suitable size of its trunk, and the softness of its wood, making for ease in working, is that mentioned in the legend, called, in the Petats dialect, *uertsil*, and in that of Kurtatchi *tʃiniv*; in the latter case the same word is used for the finished canoe, which at Petats is called

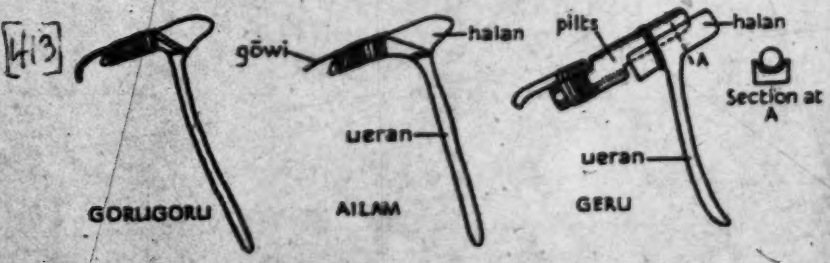

FIG. 16. Tools used in making a dug-out canoe.

dʒini. The tree is tall and slender, with rather smooth bark, which strips off in large slabs. There is a milky sap under the bark when it is first stripped, and the same milky fluid exudes from the stems of the leaves when they are broken off. The wood is white and so soft that one man can fell a *tʃiniv* tree by himself, unless it is a very large one.

Tools used. (The native terms are in the Petats dialect.) In the olden days, stone implements were used. Fire has never been employed to hollow out the log. Nowadays the work is done with metal tools obtained from traders, rehafted in the native fashion, probably much as the stone implements were hafted of old (Fig. 16). They use, besides the ordinary trade axe, which they call a tomahawk, a straight-bladed adze (*ailam*) and an adze with a curved

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travellers, beginning with Mendaña, showing that they undoubtedly did so, and, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Petats people were doing so not very long ago. It is interesting to note that the Kurtatchi people, who apparently learnt the method of manufacture after the introduction of white men's tools, said most emphatically that it would be impossible to make them without. Nowadays, the tools employed include axes, metal adzes, gimlets, augurs, sometimes a brace and bit, and occasionally a plane. In the absence of a brace and bit, pieces of wire or nails, which can be obtained from the Chinese stores, are heated and the requisite holes are burned with them.

For the main planks of the *mon* a tree called *panots* (the same as that employed for rafts) is used. A large tree will provide five or six planks for a medium-sized *mon*. The tough outer skin of *Lygodium dichotomum* (*atam*) is used for binding them together, and the seams are caulked with *Parinarium laurinum* (*atʃitʃ*), the 'putty nut'.

Method of construction. The technique employed in the manufacture of *mon* in this area differs very considerably from that practised in the British Solomons as described by Ivens (1927, pp. 149 ff.) and Woodford (1922, pp. 508 ff.), as does also the appearance of the canoe when finished. I watched the procedure both at Petats and at Kurtatchi, but as I did not see the early stages at Petats, I take the description which follows from my Kurtatchi note-book, and shall use the Kurtatchi terms. The Petats terms are given by Friederici (1912, p. 290), who does not, however, give details of the construction.

The first business is to cut the planks. Those for the bottom of the *mon* are about 6 inches wide in the middle, and are tapered off to points at each end. They are planed with an adze (*turarar*) to a thickness of ¼ to ½ inch. The outside of each plank is charred by being held over a fire of chips (Pl. 50*a*). It is then rubbed smooth in the sand, and 'set' by being dipped in the sea. This is said to make the planks seaworthy, 'the same as tar', as one man said. (The men who have worked on plantations have seen white men tarring their boats.)

There is no sharp keel. The plank (*matān*) which forms the middle of the bottom of the *mon* is laid on the ground, and a plank (*pāl*) is placed on either side of it. The adjacent edges of both, which have been bevelled slightly, are then pierced by a row of

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

501 [426] a large *mon* is very great, and there is not much occasion for its use, such canoes are sometimes lent to other villages when required for a special occasion.

[343] The *mon* is used for long journeys, or for bonito fishing. It is kept in a specially built shed (*kek*) on the shore near a place convenient for launching. It is always carried down to the water, several men or boys helping on each side (Pl. 53), and must never be dragged along the ground like a dug-out, or it would suffer injury. At the edge of the reef, if the tide is low, or at the edge of the water if it is high, the canoe is laid down, and its crew watch carefully for a break in the surf-waves through which they can run with it, shouting in their excitement, and jumping in as soon as it reaches deep water. To watch for a favourable time to get through the surf is *warēn ia*, to take advantage of a pause in the rollers to launch it is *watiaro* (*tiaro* also means fair weather).

Paddling. Except for the seat at the stern, which is occupied by the steersman only, two paddlers sit on each *poan*, the width of which necessitates their sitting so close to each other that one wonders their movements are not hampered by the proximity. If the number of people available is insufficient, some of the *poan* may be occupied by one person only, in which case he paddles on alternate sides, otherwise there is no possibility of changing over, an amenity which they do not seem to miss. The paddle is the same as that used in the dug-out canoe, which has been described on p. 369. The paddle used by the steersman does not differ from that of the others. They take one strong stroke, with the paddle held upright, close to the side of the boat, alternating with a short stroke with the paddle held in a more sloping position and slightly away from it. Women paddle as well as men, and with equal facility. But there are certain *mon*, decorated with one particular design, which women may not enter (see p. 433), and they may not possess or use paddles ornamented with the conventional figure (*kokorra*) shown in Fig. 27 (p. 435). With a following wind, a large leaf may be held up to act as a sail, supplementing, but never replacing, the efforts of the paddlers.

502 484 439 *Voyages*. The people of the North Bougainville coast are not great sailors, and seldom venture on trips more than a few miles from the shore. Those of Buka, particularly the men of Lontis and Hanahan, are more venturesome, and go, on occasion, as far as the island of Nissan, a trip involving little short of a hundred

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

miles, mostly of open and sometimes stormy sea, to buy the pigs for which Nissan is famous. One such expedition, about two years—so far as I could interpret their vague ideas as to time—before my arrival, met with disaster, two canoes and about forty men being lost. No trip had been made since. While I was there the Hanahan people were talking of making another, but it seemed doubtful whether it would materialize. I obtained from a Hanahan native an account of such a trip, which I give, in spite of its length, because it contains several points of interest. Unfortunately I have no record of the time of year at which this voyage is supposed to have taken place, so it is not possible to identify the stars which serve as guide.

A Voyage to Green Island (Nissan)

When people go to Green Island, they start in a *mon* about sunset. When they get to the open sea it is dark. A star called Ton comes into sight, straight in front of them, in the direction they want to go. Then another comes up, it is called Data. When Data has risen completely, they pick up another star, called Seiposa. When Seiposa has risen, there is another called Totonolo (that is the name of a big fish which has a large mouth and two hands). When it has come up, Reki (flying fox) comes, then another star, Wisiessi. When they are nearly there they see Kulu (a pigeon which has almonds in its mouth). Then they pick up Kuri (big freshwater crab). When it has risen they pick up Ienatchena (big fish). Then comes Tonlan (the morning star). When they see Tonlan, one man stands up, he looks, and looks, and looks. As soon as it is light enough he sees land a long way off. It is called Haputan. Then he says: 'Come on, paddle, you fellows, paddle the canoe, I think we can see Haputan.' Then they all paddle hard, and come up closer, and all the trees look big now. That is Green Island.

Then one man, who knows how to make rain, takes a drinking coco-nut, and sings a song. I do not know what it is, only the *tsunaun* know it. Then all the men drink one coco-nut, they drink all of it, then they eat taro. They do not stop to eat on the journey, in case a big wind comes and catches the *mon*; then they would all be lost. When they have finished eating they all wash in the sea; then the canoe goes ashore on the island. When they have all gone ashore, the man who knows how to make rain talks, and a big wind comes up at Hanahan, and breaks branches off the trees belonging to the people of Hanahan; then they know that the canoe has arrived. They say: 'The canoe has gone ashore at Green Island, it is not lost.' When the canoe gets back they do the same, they make a big wind blow on Green Island, so that the people there know that it has got home safely.

I: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

484 The people of Hanahan go to Green Island to get *beroan* (shell currency) and fish, because the fishing at Hanahan is not good. They also 439 buy pigs, because the pigs of Green Island are bigger than the pigs at Hanahan. The people of Green Island are the same people as those of 197 Hanahan, and talk the same language, but the people of Green Island talk very slowly, it sounds as if they were sad and wanted to cry. (Here the speaker gave an imitation, in a high-pitched voice with a whining tone and a drop at the end of every sentence.) They pay for the *beroan* and the pigs and the fish with taro, pots, and paint, which they get from Tiop.

484 They stop two days, and fish; there are plenty of fish at Green Island. [789] When the men are ready to come back, a man of Green Island takes hold of the canoe and says some words to make the canoe run quickly and come back to Hanahan. The people of Green Island know these words, the Hanahan people do not know them. They leave at dusk, and come back to Hanahan in the early morning. They do not take so long as they did to go to Green Island, because the sea pushes the canoe.

502 Here the narrator ceased, but further inquiry elicited the information that they steer by the same stars, watching till they are high enough in the sky to be seen in front of the canoe. When they get near home they look for the point called Hanapan (the most northerly headland on Buka) and for the highest mountain on Buka, which they call Langono (I am not sure just where this is). When they get closer to the shore they must steer away from the island or else they would be carried round the northern edge of the island on to the Lontis coast. They beach the canoe at sunrise.

House-building

361 From the plan and description of the village given in Chapter I, it will be seen that the huts (*inu*) are always set up in lines. When a new one is to be added to the line, the position of the front is determined by stretching a piece of creeper or fibre string along the line of the houses already in position, and continuing it farther to the site of the new one. The backs of the huts are not alined, as some are much longer than others, owing to the fact that increase in size is always obtained by adding to the length at the back, the width remaining practically constant in all.

342 The first procedure in house-building is to put in pieces of stick to mark the corners, using the string as above described. Along the sides, uprights (*kurik*) are set up in double rows, just wide enough apart for the insertion between them of the slats which they are

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

Pan-pipes (*ka'ur* or *wa'ur* and *piu*).

534 These are made in several sizes. The larger ones (*wa'ur*) have a mouthpiece made of 'putty-nut' which makes the aperture smaller (Pl. 65, 1). These usually consist of three reeds of different diameters. The smaller ones (*piu*) have no mouthpiece, but the edge of the cane may be bevelled (Pl. 65, 3 and 4). These are usually in fours, of the same diameter, but differing in length. Both kinds are always paired, one of a pair being open below, the other cut off just below a node, so that it is stopped. More elaborate ones, consisting of a number of canes of different lengths bound together in a bundle, are sometimes seen (Pl. 65, 2).

549 *Manufacture.* The pipes are made of bamboo. Just before a dance, men and boys go out into the bush and cut large quantities of suitable canes. The instruments are made by men and boys in the village, and there is no secrecy about it, in fact it is quite a social occasion, accompanied by much merriment. To cut Pan-
[534] pipes is *nayets o piu* (Pl. 64*b*). Fresh ones must be made for every dance, and thrown away afterwards, usually into the sea. But no objection was raised when I asked to be allowed to keep some of them. The nodes are poked out with a stick or a pig-spear. The first canes cut are carefully tried out till the required note is obtained, and the others are cut to these as measures. But some men estimate the length without measuring. One man told me he did not need to measure, because he could 'think in his belly'. I have heard men whistling the sequence of notes quite accurately.

533 *Method of use.* In playing, the instrument is held in both hands. The four notes are played in varying order, usually the highest one twice, then one of the intermediate ones twice, then the lowest one twice. The Pan-pipes are used in dances in conjunction with either the slit-gong or the *mabu*, the players standing in the centre
[562] of the men's wheel-like formation. Women do not play Pan-pipes even for fun.

534 There is also in use a notched-end flute made of a single reed,
177 with two or more stops, also called *piu* (Pl. 66*a*). This is merely
439 for amusement; it is never used in dances. I have seen girls playing it at Petats, but not at Kurtatchi. I incline to think it is not indigenous, but derived from the Chinese, who have traded in the district for some long time, and who sell them in their stores.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
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535 852 mother's pack (see Pl. 17). At such times they take up the men's wheel formation.

535 184 At Tabut I once saw a variation of the women's steps, taking the form of imitative movements which might be called 'figures'. One represented getting water; some women danced in a ring and one in the centre imitated the action of pouring water into a coco-nut. Another 'figure' imitated the planting of taro. I saw nothing of the kind at Kurtatchi or any other village I visited, and the Kurtatchi women said they did not know how to dance in any other way than the usual.

USE OF COLOUR

386 302 Colouring matter is freely employed, both on the person and on the various objects manufactured. The colours in general use are red, black, white, and yellow, in that order of importance. There are several ways of obtaining each of these. Colouring matter used for personal adornment is mixed with coco-nut oil before being applied to skin or hair. The generic term for such a mixture is *us*, which I have translated 'paint'.

386 317 438 *Red.* Several kinds of red paint are distinguished by special names. They are all varieties of red oxide of iron (haematite),[1] formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes by decomposing the vapours of ferric chloride with steam. The kind giving the brightest colour, and therefore the most highly prized, is called *oin*. It is obtained from the people living in the mountainous hinterland of Bougainville, who have access to the volcanoes in the interior. The natives of the east coast near Numanuma act as intermediaries to pass it on to the people of the north coast as an object of barter. *Owan*, a rather muddier red, consists of impure iron oxide with some iron sulphide, which might be obtained from an ironstone nodule embedded in a clay deposit. It can be found on Buka, but the exact locality is unknown to me. A third variety, intermediate in colour between the other two, but nearer to *oin*, is called *itʃu*, and is used when *oin* is not available. At the present time the natives also paint their faces with carmine, which they get from the Chinese stores.

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386 [834] Leaves and canes are dyed red with a preparation of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). Details of its use are given in the sections

[1] For the identification of my samples I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

437 438 showing the ramifications of the system. The people of Petats obtained some pots at Malasang in exchange for women's hoods. The pots they bartered to the people of Lontis in exchange for taro. The Lontis people used the pots to pay for pigs, which they intended to sell, as opportunity offered, for ceremonial currency made of shell disks (*beroan*), which was destined eventually to form part of the property changing hands in respect of a marriage.

435 439 465 651 Purchases from white men or Chinese store-keepers are usually paid for in copra, the rates varying with the current market-price of that commodity. A certain fixed part of the wages of indentured labourers is paid in shillings, some of which also find their way into the store-keepers' tills, though the main use of them is to pay the Government head-tax of 10*s*. on each adult male. The goods generally bought are sticks of tobacco, knives and axes, loin-cloths, trade beads, belts, and sometimes, if a man has recently returned from labour and money is plentiful, mouth-organs and bottles of scent.

435 439 Pigs are sometimes purchased locally from white planters or Chinese store-keepers. One of the latter, who had a store on the mainland of Buka nearly opposite Petats, used to make the natives pay as much as £10 or £12 in English (or Australian) money for a large fat pig, when he knew that it was specially wanted for some great occasion.

436 Sticks of tobacco (plug twist) and, to a smaller extent, shillings are now coming into favour as a means of trading among the natives themselves, 3 sticks of tobacco being recognized as the equivalent of a shilling, or goods to that value. They also recognize as a unit the sum of £5, which they call, using pidgin-English, a *fius*. This word is sometimes rather arbitrarily used when it is required to indicate a large sum, e.g. it may be quoted as the price of a pig.

CEREMONIAL CURRENCY

Two kinds of ceremonial currency are in use, one much more highly valued than the other.

436 171 The less valuable kind consists of strings of shell disks ground flat and pierced with a central hole. This type of currency is found over a large area of Melanesia. Although it is made in other islands of the Solomon group (Codrington, 1891, p. 325, Ivens, 1927,

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[1] Our knowledge of the Solomon Islanders is rather sparse even today. Up to the present the most valuable contributions have been made by H. B. Guppy, The Salomon Islands and their Natives (1887) and C. M. Woodford, A Naturalist Among the Head-hunters (1890); but even these two did not have the opportunity to become acquainted with the extreme northwestern islands of Buka and Bougainville. On its voyage the "Gazelle" touched the west coast of Bougainville on the twenty-fifth of August 1875; since that time merchants have frequently visited the island, in part to make purchases and in part to recruit workers for plantations in other areas. On these occasions bloody conflicts frequently arose between the natives and the whites so that the former have gained the reputation of being a warlike and cruel people. I believe, however, that this reputation is unmerited. It cannot be denied that quite a few white men in Bougainville have been slain by the natives; but frequently we must acknowledge that the death of a great many of them was caused by their own misdeeds. The recruiting of plantation workers with its many evil consequences has nevertheless had one advantage. A large number of the natives have seen other regions, become acquainted with other circumstances, and come to comprehend the character of the white man better. Thereby, in the course of the years, a transformation has taken place in their mutual relationships; even if one party cannot meet the other with absolute confidence, still a certain armed neutrality has been brought about by means of which a rather calm and peaceful relationship is gradually being built up.

The following statements on the ethnography of the northwestern Solomon Islands (Buka, Bougainville, the islands of the Bougainville Strait) including Carteret and Nissan Islands (1) are the result of

1. Both of these island groups must be considered as belonging ethnographically to Buka, Bougainville, and the islands of the Bougainville Strait. The Carteret Islands were populated by natives from Buka about

observations, however, place it beyond any doubt that a difference really exists and that it is not only an ethnographic one, but possibly also anthropological.[1] The inland inhabitants are shorter and thinner than the coastal inhabitants; their arms and legs are less muscular; the upper part of the body is more highly developed in comparison with the lower extremities (especially lengthwise); and their skin color is always completely black. I scarcely need to mention the fact that the language is different. On the other hand it is extremely interesting that the weapons of the coastal inhabitants are produced almost exclusively by the inlanders and are obtained from them by way of trade. (1) This is all the more astonishing since the material

1. The tribes of the interior, who live in the ravines and on the declivities of the steep mountains, seem to have only slight intercourse with one another; in any case none exists between the mountain inhabitants of the northern half of the island and those of the southern half. The northern Emperor Range is completely cut off from the southern Crown Prince Range by a deep depression which, according to statements of the natives, is only slightly above sea level at Empress Augusta Bay; as a matter of fact, from the east as well as the west wide swampy plains extend far inland. There is a much more active intercourse among the various coastal inhabitants. From Buka and the north coast of Bougainville boats go to Cap le Cras on the east coast and to Empress Augusta Bay on the west coast and sometimes even farther. From the Shortland Islands in the Bougainville Strait and from Mono Island, which lies farther southwest, extended journeys are made to the north; the deceased chieftains Gorai from Shortland and Mule from Mono had undertaken trips to Buka on various occasions and knew not only

[1] [i.e. physical Anthropological. — Analyst]

the names of the various small islands at the northwest corner of Bougainville, but also the names of the local chieftains. In Empress Augusta Bay I found people from Mono and Shortland who had settled there; in the village of Nomanoma on the east coast I met a native I knew from Buka who had married a Nomanoma woman and as a result had settled there. Gorai in Shortland told me that his father, a native of Mono, had subjugated and exterminated the original local population with the aid of his people; he claimed that the present-day inhabitants of the Shortland Islands comprised recent settlers from all the surrounding islands. Among Gorai's numerous wives many came from Bougainville, some from Mono, and others from Choiseul. From all of this it becomes apparent that the coastal population, for generations, has frequently shifted and been moved about, whereas the inland population in its inaccessible mountain position was, to be sure, exposed to the attacks of the coastal inhabitants (of whom certain individuals were occasionally led into captivity as slaves), yet preserved its character in a purer and more pristine condition than the coastal inhabitants, who have been exposed to so many influences.

for their manufacture is also present in the coastal regions and since, as a matter of fact, the inlanders can obtain many things that they use for making them only by bartering with the coastal peoples. I can explain this circumstance only in this way: the coastal inhabitants were later intruders from other Melanesian Islands who were not familiar with these weapons. Comprehending their great advantages, they took over their use and procured them from the original inhabitants. We find bows, arrows, and spears as instruments of war in Buka and Bougainville, on the islands in the Bougainville [3] Strait and on Mono.

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Arm ornaments in the form of polished rings or ingeniously woven bands are not infrequent. The arm rings in the northwestern Solomon Islands however are almost all imported from other regions. A flat ring of tridachna shell--up to 2 centimeters in thickness--whose outer side has a deep groove, is produced on the Island of Wonneran and diffuses as an object of trade to Nissan and from there farther to the southeast. Fine rings of about 1 centimeter in width and rounded on the outside are made in Rubiana and New Georgia. I will also mention that the latter rings are of greater or lesser value according to the material used to make them. Rings of trochus are not so highly regarded as the arm rings made of the large conus shells which have a beautiful ivory-like white sheen. The only arm rings produced in the northwestern Solomon Islands are made from the lower part of a species of trochus and are very rough and irregular; they are not in the least comparable to the carefully polished arm rings of New Mecklenburg made of the same material or the ornamented arm rings from the Admiralty Islands or western New Pomerania.

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The islanders apply far greater care to the manufacture of woven armrings. Here again it is the mountain inhabitants of Bougainville who produce the best work--woven articles that with regard to multiplicity of patterns and the tasteful arrangement of colors are equal to the best work of the South Seas of the same sort. These arm rings (basbas in Buka) are 1 1/2 to 7 centimeters wide. The basic weave consists either of black or of brownish-red fibers of about one millimeter in width; the figures are made of golden yellow, red and black fibers and the patterns vary considerably; zigzag lines of greater or lesser width, rectangles and squares executed in one color or in stripes of different colors are the most frequently recurring figures; not infrequently one also sees the Greek fret pattern [die Grecborte] executed in a completely correct style. These woven bracelets have a great value in the eyes of the coastal inhabitants, and it is difficult to persuade the owners to exchange them for other items; as a rule they resist the most enticing offers.

On the north coast of Bougainville, in isolated cases, I have encountered a wrist ornament that is very rare and called kunoes. This ornament consists of a string of snails whose upper rounded shell has been removed so that only the lower flat shell is left. The whole string is about 120 centimeters long, and the disks are fastened to one another in such a way that the string has three sides; the largest disks are placed in the middle--for a length of about forty centimeters--and then toward the two ends they gradually become smaller so that at the extreme ends they are scarcely half as large as the disks in the middle. This very flexible chain--

On the Shortland Islands a very crude sort of money, which is called 436
mûuli locally, is made for commerce with the inhabitants of the Crown 171
Prince Range; the mountain people call this money ŝputa. It consists of a conus mussel, whose pointed end has simply been broken off and whose upper end has been pierced so that it can be strung; the individual shells are about 7 millimeters wide and 7 millimeters in diameter.

[23] In the mangrove regions of Buka and north Bougainville you frequently find the shells of a bivalve, which are strung on a string by the hundreds. These strings also are used as money for trade with the mountain 439 ●
people.

Although the previously described objects represent the value of 437
actual money, this still does not imply that the natives use only these objects as media of exchange in commerce among themselves and with their neighbors. Rather, all their superfluous possessions are also used for this same purpose. The agricultural mountain inhabitants swap fruit to the coastal inhabitants for fish; armrings of tridachna and conus, as well as woven armrings, are favorite barter objects when it is a matter of trading for spears, bows and arrows; and scarcely an object can be mentioned that does not represent a certain market value.

Household Equipment

The household equipment on the northwestern Solomon Islands is 323
practically the same from Buka to Shortland, even though local variations 171
occur. Characteristic for this region is the knowledge of pottery-making. Cooking pots of baked clay, but without a glaze, are to be found in every house. The method of manufacture is the same everywhere: first the clay is carefully kneaded and freed of all pebbles; then the potter (the making of pots is exclusively the affair of the women) takes a fist-size piece into her hands and, using a round stone and a wooden spatula, she forms the bottom of the container; when this part is finished, strips of clay of about 10 to 20 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 centimeters in width are placed on the edge of the finished base; with her left hand the potter holds the round stone on the inner surface and fits the edges together with the dampened spatula. In this way strip after strip is built up until the pot is finished. In order to handle the pot more easily, they prepare a ring of

by other strips of rattan laid over the notch. It was not difficult to demonstrate the method with a piece of rattan. It is identical with the binding that I described from the Emperor Range. It seems accordingly that this method of fastening the ax blades is typical for middle Bougainville, north Bougainville, Buka and Nissan.

[27] We find a similar mode of fastening the ax blades again in the French Islands, on Cape Villaumez and at the south cape of New Pomerania, but a description of these objects is outside the realm of my present purposes.

I believe that in the preceding material I have given an exhaustive description of all stone ax blades occurring in the northwestern Solomon Islands; in any case I nowhere succeeded--despite the most careful inquiry--in finding other types. In Bougainville the demand for iron axes is especially great, and in a few years stone axes will have fallen completely into disuse there; the chance that led to me a few stone blades in their original condition may not be so favorable to later travelers. This is my excuse for the somewhat longwinded explanation of how I succeeded in clarifying this highly interesting method of binding, which deviates so radically from all other types.

Although stone axes unquestionably were used also as weapons in hand-to-hand combat--and still are in the interior of Bougainville--it is beyond doubt that they served primarily as artisan's tools. In this capacity they have been replaced for the most part by iron tools today--even in the inland villages, which maintain active relations with the coastal inhabitants and procure their requirements there.

On the small islands at the northwest end of Bougainville I saw numerous rows of cyprina shells which are found in the mangrove swamps. They serve as a medium of exchange in commerce with the mountain people. The latter use them as cutting and scraping instruments when they are making arrows, spears, bows, etc. In certain spots I have seen sharpened boar's teeth used as scrapers in the manufacture of wooden objects. Special types of coral serve as rasps for planing wooden boards. Sharpened oyster shells, which formerly were used as knives, have now been almost completely replaced by knives.

Whetstones of hard dark stone, which were formerly used for sharpening the stone blades, can be found everywhere; smaller whetstones made of a brown fine-grained stone--about the size of a hand--serve for sharpening smaller objects like fishhooks, etc.; today they are used for whetting knives and ax blades.

shaft. The weaving itself is called tûû (Shortland: nfnamu). This woven work is followed by a carving that goes all around the shaft and represents two human figures. This part is called kägoi (Shortland: kâpoina) and may never be missing on a complete spear; the same is true for the knob that follows it: ûiru (Shortland: zimpu putuna). The ûiru is a knob of 3 1/2 centimeters in diameter made of firmly pressed red and yellowish leaf fibers. The yellow fibers form an approximately 3 millimeter wide center ring, which is bounded on both sides by a hemisphere made of red fibers; the yellow ring is called zigâre. This knob, in turn, is followed by a decoration of red and yellow weaving made of the same material as the previously described woven ornament--only the zigzag lines do not run around the spear shaft, but along it. Occasionally the whole remaining spear shaft is covered with this red and yellow braidwork, but this sort of spear seems to be rather rare, and I have seen only one. The carved ornament, kägoi, and the sphere that follows it, ûiru, have a special significance, although I am not in a position to explain it fully. According to the information I received kägoi seems to be a symbol of the lethal power inherent in the spear: "it sees the enemy," an old native told me; and the deceased Gorai, in his primitive English, gave me the explanation: "he all the same eye," that is, it is like the eye. He designated the head as "house belong kâpoina," that is, the house or the domicile of the kâpoina or the kägoi. I wish to observe here that the same ornament not infrequently also occurs on arrow shafts; I do not recall ever having seen it in other connections. On the arrow shafts it is not always completely executed; sometimes only the face is sketchily hinted at, but one cannot fail to recognize it as one and the same ornament.

[29] Just as the described spears diffuse far to the south by way of trade, so they also come to the north, and not infrequently you find them in Buka, where indeed they are imitated here and there without attaining, to be sure, the artistic skill of the mountain inhabitants of Bougainville. On the other hand, I never found them among the numerous inhabitants that I saw from the interior of northern Bougainville. The forms current here are by far more varied, although I cannot say that in carefulness of execution they exceed those from south Bougainville. But before I say anything more specific about these spears, it will be of interest to find out what articles the inland inhabitants of south Bougainville receive to

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exchange for their products. The principal medium of exchange consists of white shell bracelets made of tridacna (giant mollusk). These very carefully made rings--called gorau in Shortland--are made in Rubiana and New Georgia and come from there to Shortland on the trade routes. Although these rings have recently been rather closely imitated in Europe in porcelain-paste [Porzellanmasse] and have been circulated in trade, these imitations still do not have anywhere near the value of the original arm rings. A real tridacna bracelet is just as valuable as a spear, yet four rings made in Europe scarcely suffice for the same purpose. It is astonishing how great the demand is for such spears. Old Gorai, who to a certain extent had a monopoly on this trade, showed me on the occasion of a visit a number of bundles of spears, which could not have contained less than two thousand items. Likewise, numerous bundles of tridacna bracelets proved that he intended to make new purchases.

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The form of the spear in south Bougainville is constant. In north Bougainville it is highly irregular. At the northeast end I came into contact with numerous natives from the interior. Also I have had opportunity to visit them in their mountain villages, but I have never been able to find a single spear form that is typical for this region. The various spear forms can be divided into four main groups:

Group I: smooth spears without barbs.

Group II: spears with barbs that are carved out of the body of the spear.

Group III: spears with inserted barbs made of a different material from the spear shaft.

Group IV: multi-pronged spears.

In all of these the ornamentation by means of painting, carving, and the attachment of braid work is extremely varied and seems to be adapted to the taste of the individual artisan. The actual shaft of the north Bougainville spears is frequently square and wrapped its entire length with pandanus leaves. The material for the fabrication of spears is generally the same as in south Bougainville, but in addition other materials are also used, such as hard wood species for barbs, likewise fish bones, pieces from the beak of the rhinoceros bird, etc. Nowhere in north Bougainville do we find braidwork as carefully executed as in the south; frequently the wrapping of the shaft with yellow fiber material (ûãre in north Bougainville and ûãle in Buka) done

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Petats
Kurtatchi

539 773 into birds, she turned herself into a *kumina* (white ant) and was not a woman any more, and her children were birds.

The story is finished.

[115] This story is here given as told to me by Sonokum, a leading man of the village of Kohiso in the hill district of central Buka. It is the most detailed of several variants obtained by me, but it does not state, as do some of the others, that the people are descended from the two sons of the old woman. It is the only one which gives the transformation of the boys into birds. The [116] two divisions of the Buka people are called Manu (Eagle) and Kekeleo (Fowl), but no statement was made connecting these with the birds of the story.

539 171 439 773 The people of Nissan, an island between Buka and New Ireland, say that the story originally belonged to them, and that the identical tree in which the old woman hid is still to be seen on the island, and also the bones of Monohan. They add that as the bones lay on the ground a little snake ate some of them, and he turned into a pig, and was the origin of all the pigs on Nissan, from whence they were sent to all the other islands. Nissan is famous for its pigs, and the natives of Buka go over in canoes—little short of a hundred miles of open and stormy sea—to buy them.

539 773 171 In a version from Petats, the monster who ravaged the land is represented as a very large and fierce pig called Burtcheni. This is so also in a version from the neighbouring island of Pororan, given to me by Mr. Gordon Thomas. As told on Bougainville, the place of the pig is taken by a being described as an *urar* (a word usually meaning the spirit of a dead person) called Towaniwa in the version current at Kurtatchi (where it is spoken of as female), and Burau in that from Ruri, a neighbouring village speaking a different dialect. In both of these versions the two sons are called Mator (Matan), *i.e.* Right-handed, and Kiruk (Keruka), *i.e.* Left-handed. Unfortunately I omitted to ascertain the meaning of the names Tchikenau and Bakiano in the Kohiso version.

In the Kurtatchi version, after the monster is killed, the old woman takes out his bladder and sets it adrift in the sea, telling

breach is death. The chief now gives each initiate a new name, which must never be changed or dropped. The names chosen are those of deceased *putz-putzi*, who thus continue, in name, to be present at such ceremonies. This custom is for the pleasure of Ndook as well as for the spirits of the departed.

While this is in progress one or more *muri-na-lium* visit the village where the women are still wailing and relate how So-and-so has been dissected by Ndook: his legs are in one island, his head in another, and his arms in still another. Occasionally one of the men smears his body with pig's blood and, standing before several of the women, relates how he was holding his child when Ndook killed him in his arms. Similar anecdotes are related by the newly initiated when they return to their mothers. The explanation for their safe return is that after Ndook had appeased his appetite with pig and taro he relented and restored them to their mothers.

Food is then divided, and as each section or village receives its portion, the men, placing the baskets on their heads, dance in the centre of the ground. They then retire to consume the food, which is known as *goagon* (sacred food). The women are not told that the men eat the food, which is ostensibly supplied for the consumption of Ndook, who if not well fed will wreak his vengeance upon the initiates. All traces of food are removed from the person and hands and faces washed before the men return to the village. They usually pretend to be hungry, and ask at once for something to eat.

The natives of Pororan believe that if a married man has sexual intercourse with his wife on the same night that he returns from a ceremony then she will bear twins. If a pregnant woman crosses the path made by Ndook in his travels the child when born will be deformed.

The inclusion of the wooden carvings in the Pororan Ndook ceremony is only of very recent origin, dating from 1928. They are copies of the images used in the Sailou district, north Bougainville, where initiation ceremonies form a far more important part of the ceremonial life than on Buka. These images were first imported into Malasang district, south Buka, in about 1920, being purchased with native money. From here they found their way to Hanahan. Prior to this date there were no images, and the ceremony consisted